

NEXT STEPS TO

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WIN THE WAR IN SPAIN

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NEXT STEPS TO WIN THE WAR IN SPAIN

*Address by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the
Communist Party of the United States of America,
before a meeting of functionaries, December 9, 1937.*

COMRADES: The purpose of this meeting tonight is to launch the campaign for 50,000 members of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, to provide the necessary minimum of support to our boys in Spain and to re-establish in their normal occupations, as nearly as possible, those who are returning. It is a central part of our whole great campaign in support of the Spanish republic against the invading armies of Hitler and Mussolini with their Moorish mercenaries.

In order to understand fully the importance of this task, why it must be fully carried through at all costs, we must constantly keep before us the meaning of Spain in the world situation and in relation to our own country. We must constantly renew our understanding of this struggle in its latest developments. Tonight, therefore, let us honor our American boys who are serving in Spain, and the memory of our heroes who gave their lives there by speaking of the high and noble cause in which we are all enlisted with them.

The war in Spain is a part of the worldwide offensive of fascism against all peace-loving and democratic peoples. It is

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directly connected with the war in China, invaded by the Japanese fascist military clique in power. Both the Spanish and Chinese peoples are conducting a *defensive war* against aggressors. By their struggles they are defending the *cause of peace of the whole world* against the violators of world peace—Germany, Italy and Japan. They are conducting a *national-liberation war* against foreign bandits. The Spanish people are fighting for their liberty, for their democratic republic, against foreign intervention. The Chinese people are fighting for the *right to be masters of their own house*, for the reorganization of the political order of China along democratic lines.

Stop the Spread of Fascism!

If German and Italian fascism are victorious in Spain, and Japan crushes China, this will surely only open up a series of wars of conquest and aggression on the part of the insolent fascist states all over the world. Already they have invaded the Americas, have seized Brazil, have massacred 8,000 Haitians right on our doorstep, are taking over China, and are preparing an armed insurrection in Mexico against the Cardenas republic. Their victory would mean an immediate Hitler attack against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Denmark; it would mean the fascist encirclement of France, and war against her; it would mean the further extension of Mussolini's rule in the Mediterranean, and his further penetration into Africa; it would mean converting China into a Japanese colony, and an immediate menace to French Indo-China, India, Australia, and the Philippines. It would mean a general war of the so-called "Anti-Communist" Alliance for the redivision of the world. It would mean war against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of peace, liberty, and socialism. It would mean the quick rise of a powerful fascist movement in the United States, with the force of Wall Street's money behind it.

These are the inevitable results of the fascist victory in Spain and China. Therefore the struggle against the German and Italian intervention in Spain, and the Japanese invasion of China, is a struggle for maintaining peace in the world; it is a struggle for *self-defense* of the peoples of every land in their own countries, it is a struggle to preserve the United States itself from the horrors of fascism and war.

Therefore the people of the United States have not only the duty of human solidarity, but, more immediately, of self-interest, to do everything possible to bring about the victory of the Spanish Republic and of the Chinese people. All working class parties and organizations, all honest democrats, all lovers of peace and liberty, cannot help but want such a victory, cannot help but support it and organize it. And this is true, above all, for the Communists.

Tonight I will concentrate my attention upon Spain. There is a danger of the news from China pushing Spain into the background. By helping to strike a telling blow against the fascists in Spain we will weaken not only Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, but at the same moment the Japanese militarists whose fortunes rise or fall with those of the European fascists. In Spain the necessity of our help is pressing and immediate, and decisive in determining the outcome.

In Defense of Republican Spain

The Spanish Republic is fully capable of settling accounts with Franco and the Spanish fascists in a few months, if the foreign armies are withdrawn and outside aid to Franco is stopped. The aim of our campaign is, therefore, to put a stop to the aid being given Franco; direct aid on the part of the fascist powers, and indirect aid on the part of the non-fascist powers.

This means we must demand and fight for the stoppage of *military aid* to Franco; withdrawal of the German and

Italian navies from Spanish waters, withdrawal of their armies from Spanish territory, putting an end to the piracy of German and Italian submarines operating under Franco's flag; stopping the supply of arms, munitions, airplanes, etc. This means the stoppage of *economic and financial aid*; no loans, credits, or trade with Franco. This means the stoppage of *diplomatic aid to Franco*; no recognition of the Franco government, no sending of diplomatic representatives, no negotiations, no recognition of belligerent rights, toward which the British Tory government is moving, thus selling out the Spanish Republic in a horse-trade with the fascists. This means the stoppage of *political aid*: brand as treason to democracy and peace all defense of Franco in the press and in Congress, all justifying of Franco and all discrediting of Spain and its government. This means stopping all *indirect aid to Franco* that results from the policy of "neutrality" and "non-intervention," which in reality create a privileged position for Franco, and lead to blockading republican Spain. This means to fight against anything which, directly or indirectly, lends strength to the German and Italian interventionists. This means giving up the splitting policy of the Socialist Party and the Second International which helps Franco by its systematic refusal of unity of action and by its shelter of the Trotskyite-fascist "fifth column" which stabs the Spanish Republic in the back.

All of our practical work in behalf of republican Spain has the greater aim of arousing the American people to a realization of the horrible crimes being committed against peace and democracy by the fascists, to a realization that if the influence of the United States is not used to help stop these crimes quickly, then we may be suffering the same horrors before long. Our country is the most rich and powerful in the world; it is intolerable that our peace-loving and democratic people should allow its influence to be on Franco's side, directly or indirectly.

Smash the Defeatist Propaganda!

American newspapers, notoriously reactionary, have in the past weeks been particularly vicious in their propaganda designed to convince their readers that republican Spain is doomed to defeat, and that therefore all help to Spain is useless, and that it would be better to come to terms with Franco. This campaign of defeatism, conceived in Berlin and Rome, and carried out through London, has found willing helpers in the corrupt daily press of our country. It is so persistent and powerful that it sometimes even affects honest class-conscious workers, makes them pessimistic and passive—which is exactly what its sponsors intended.

In truth there is no reason for pessimism. One year ago the situation was indeed desperate. The Republic, without an army and with only the hastily-gathered and unorganized volunteers armed in the most haphazard fashion, stood with its back to the wall. Madrid had barely been saved by the timely appearance of the International Brigade. When our first contingent of American boys arrived in Spain, on Christmas Day last year, they still found chaos and confusion, with the organization of the regular army and the unified command, long fought for by the Spanish Communist Party, still to be achieved only six months later. The heroic stand at Jarama, the glorious victory at Guadalajara, in February and March, were still in the period when the Spanish People's Army was still only in the making, and they were won largely by iron will and bare flesh. But last summer, the victory of Brunete was already the achievement of an organized and equipped army under a single command. The reorganization of the government in May was the turning point, with the establishment of the program for victory over fascism and the crushing of the reptile "fifth column" behind the fronts. Today the Republic has an army of half a million heroic Spaniards, fighting for liberty, officered by veterans, and, thanks to the

Soviet Union, no longer with empty hands. And not the least element of strength of the Spanish Republic, the Communist Party, has grown to 350,000 members, the Socialist Party has also grown largely, and both parties are solidly united behind the government and moving toward amalgamation into a single party.

No, there is no reason for pessimism or defeatist moods. If we in America, and the workers in other capitalist lands but do our part, the Spanish Republic is equipped as never before for its glorious role of crushing the head of the fascist cobra.

The Trotskyite Wreckers and Their Protectors

One important guarantee of victory of republican Spain is its firm hand in suppressing the Trotskyite-P.O.U.M. agents of Franco, the most dangerous part of the infamous "fifth column" behind the republican lines. One year ago, they even had their representatives within the government and enjoyed full freedom of action for their treasonable and wrecking work. But when in May they resorted to armed insurrection against the Republic, and built barricades in the streets of Barcelona, they revealed themselves once for all in their true role of agents and helpers of fascism. It was one of Caballero's greatest crimes that, while Premier, he dallied with these criminals and even took them under his protection. But today they are officially recognized enemies of the Republic and of the people.

In the United States we have witnessed the shameful spectacle of Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party, rushing to the defense of the Trotskyite wreckers in Spain, the traitors who took up arms against the government headed by the Socialist Party of Spain. He sent his agent, a certain Mr. Sam Baron, from New York to Spain on a conspiratorial mission to the Trotskyites, equipped with secret codes and other paraphernalia of espionage. And when Mr. Baron was

very properly and promptly apprehended and locked up, Norman Thomas further disgraced the name of the Socialist Party by organizing public demonstrations *against the Spanish Republic* in defense of which Spanish Socialists are laying down their lives, together with our boys of the Lincoln Battalion, and the whole Spanish people. When Mr. Baron was expelled from Spain, his first act on arriving in France was to give the capitalist press a story predicting and threatening the downfall of the Spanish Republic.

It should therefore not surprise us when we see Norman Thomas lined up with Hearst and the Catholic hierarchy, with the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and the Hitler-pacifists (those who echo Hitler that sanctions mean war), in the most bitter denunciation against any attempt to bring the United States into concerted international efforts to maintain peace and defend democracy. When President Roosevelt made his famous Chicago speech, cutting loose from isolation and neutrality, and calling for concerted action to quarantine the aggressor powers, Norman Thomas stood in the front ranks with the worst reactionaries and the Trotskyites in denouncing this courageous peace policy as a policy of war.

The Struggle for Spain Is a Struggle for Implementing Roosevelt's Chicago Speech

Today everything we do in behalf of Spain becomes a part of the effort to organize the majority of the people to demand and secure the putting into effect of the policies laid down by the President in Chicago.

Roosevelt's speech was in itself a powerful blow against the fascist war-makers. As witness to that fact we have the howls of hate and rage that came from Berlin, Rome and Tokio. As further witness, the joy with which the speech was received by the Spanish people and the Chinese people. And there is information that the Chicago speech, coming at the moment when the Polish fascists were pressing for complete

fascization of the Polish state and alignment with Hitler, heartened the Polish anti-fascists sufficiently to defeat at least for a time this conspiracy. Roosevelt has greatly encouraged and strengthened the embattled democratic forces of the world. For that he must be given full credit.

But a speech is not enough. Its policy must be worked out in deeds, it must be implemented, it is not enough merely to be pronounced. And for this it must have behind it the conscious and organized support of the majority of the people, and through their influence, the majority of Congress.

Above all the infamous Neutrality Law, and its application against republican Spain, must be fundamentally amended. A sharp distinction must be drawn between the aggressor and his victim, the aggressor must feel the full weight of American economic and moral influence turned against him, and the victim must be given the full economic and moral support of our country.

This is the task of the day. And toward this are now turning the great currents of popular thought and feeling, which must be organized and made effective.

In Congress the most realistic grappling with this problem is the introduction by Representative Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana of a "Peace Act," a revised version of the Neutrality Act which incorporates all the central features of Roosevelt's Chicago speech. There is also a resolution introduced by Representative Lewis of Maryland providing for an embargo on Japan. These two measures, supplementing one another, provide the legislative point to head up the mass campaign for an effective peace policy, which will be the most effective help to republican Spain and to China.

Who Really Supports Democracy?

Defense of republican Spain furnishes the acid test as to who really and seriously supports democracy, now when it is

threatened everywhere with destruction at the hands of fascism.

All true democrats everywhere are giving all their strength to helping Spain and cutting off help to Hitler and Mussolini. Ask about every leader and every group, where they stand on the practical problems of Spain, and the answer infallibly gives their real character in relation to democracy.

The Communists are everywhere steadfastly in the forefront in the defense of Spain. This is a part of our whole line of defense of democracy and peace. It is applied to the defense of democracy in the United States.

Only recently I had occasion to take note that President Roosevelt had expressed a fear that democracy may also be threatened from the side of the working class, as he expressed it, in some vague form of proletarian dictatorship. In the answer to that position, I summed up the Communist view in words I want to repeat here. I said:

"The Communist Party repudiates now as in the past all theories and proposals looking toward a forcible imposition of socialism or any utopia upon the majority of the people. We repudiate the 'reckless resolve to seize power' by any minority. If there should arise in America anything similar to the situation in Spain, where the democratic republic, while repulsing the fascist invasion, was stabbed in the back by the 'uncontrollable extremists' (a minority of the Anarchists and the Trotskyite P.O.U.M.) then we, like our brothers of the Spanish Communist Party, would be in the forefront to suppress such 'extremists' who are really agents of fascism, and render them harmless.

"The Communist Party represents a strong and growing force to support and help every progressive tendency in American political life, and in no case to distract the progressive People's Front from its fight against the reactionaries and fascists."

When the United States government, through its Congress, shamefully broke all its treaty obligations with the Spanish Republic and imposed a blockade against it, solely on the

ground that it was in trouble and suffering invasion, this was a demonstration that the U.S. Congress, in its present composition, is a very unreliable support for democracy.

When the British Tory government tries, as it is now doing, to force upon the Spanish government a compromise with Franco which would smash the national unity of Spain, only in order that the British may trade Spanish interests to Hitler and Mussolini to advance British interests, this only proves how the British Tory government is no support for democracy, but belongs in the enemy camp.

When the British Labor Party drags along at the tail of the Tory government, does nothing to rouse the country against it, and acquiesces in the betrayal of the Spanish Republic, this only proves that the leadership of the British Labor Party is no reliable support of democracy, but is rather betraying it to fascism.

When Norman Thomas leads his Socialist Party to the defense of the P.O.U.M. insurrectionists, when he refuses to support Caballero when he headed the government for the Socialist Party, but rushes to the support of Caballero when he no longer represents the Socialist Party but a small irresponsible opposition to it, that only proves that Norman Thomas has abandoned the defense of democracy, which he formerly invoked so warmly against the supposedly "undemocratic" tendencies of the Communists.

Everywhere, and at all times, the great mass of the working class and the majority of the middle classes support democracy and fight for it, with such effectiveness as the maturity of their organization and leadership makes possible.

This is true whether the democracy is the incomplete, limited and fragmentary democracy of England, France and the United States under capitalism, or whether it is the more fundamental, far-reaching and profound democracy of socialism in the Soviet Union. Because the Soviet Union has

achieved the greatest democracy of all history, there is found the surest support of those democracies that are fighting for their life against fascist invasion.

The Fight for Peace

There are still pacifist ideas being broadcast, which say that the only way to have peace is to surrender to the universal domination of the fascists. Since the fascists declare they will fight for rulership over the world, then the people, so say the pacifists, must declare that under no conditions will they fight. Or, at any rate, they insist that we shall be sure that if we fight we must on no account win. Such pacifists deplore the heroic battle of the Spanish people to maintain their Republic. They especially deplore the fact that 3,000 of our best boys from the U.S. and Canada are with the Spanish People's Army. They are now, among the students, hysterically calling for the sanctity of the so-called "Oxford Pledge" (which by the way never played much of a role in Oxford, or in all England for that matter). They grow really apoplectic when they hear Communists say the time has long passed when it was proper to boycott military training camps, that it is necessary that the democratic people shall learn as much as possible about military science and not leave this a monopoly of the fascists and reactionaries.

But today, as always in past history, the road to peace is not the road of pacifism and non-resistance. At least not the kind of peace that a free people has any use for at all. Freedom and progress will continue only so long as the people are ready, when necessity arises, to defend it with their lives. The trials of the heroic Spanish people today may be ours tomorrow, unless we learn the lessons of their experience and apply them here in the U.S., preventing fascism from ever coming within striking distance of power, and unless we help more than ever the victory of the Spanish Republic.

More Material Aid Needed for Spain

All agencies that are organizing material help for republican Spain are more than ever needed today. They must revive and redouble their work. The second winter of war and a new wave of fascist intervention make this help more than ever important and necessary. Our defense lines before Madrid and in Aragon must not be allowed to falter for lack of our help. Otherwise those trenches may move across the Atlantic.

The North American Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy, the broadest united front of the friends of Spain, and the coordinating agency for the efforts of all the special groups, must be given new forces and attention to reorganize and strengthen its work, making it more effective and economical.

The Medical Bureau, which has done such magnificent work in equipping and maintaining hospitals, ambulances, surgeons and nurses in Spain, is now called upon for greater efforts and achievements. It deserves a hundredfold more support than it is now receiving.

The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion must be enabled to maintain and increase its supply of the small comforts and necessities to the boys in Spain.

And now of great importance is the Rehabilitation Fund of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. Since an increasing number of the boys are now returning from Spain, most of them after nearly a year of service on three or four fronts, and many of them with special problems of readjustment to work here, it is quite necessary that all forces be thrown behind its campaign for 50,000 individual members paying one dollar per year. This is absolutely required within the next three months to meet the minimum demands of this work.

Maintain the Forces of the Lincoln Battalion

Finally, and most important of all, we must understand

that the Lincoln and Washington Battalion and the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion are in the Spanish war until victory is won for the Republic.

That means that a constant stream of reinforcements and replacements must continue, at least during this winter and spring, and possibly through next summer.

The conditions for the International Brigade have much improved since the first 3,000 unhesitatingly answered the call and went to Spain. Then the boys were going into a completely unorganized situation, the International Brigade had no recognized status, there were much confusion, delay and unnecessary hardships.

Today they are going to join a strong Spanish People's Army, half a million strong, with a constantly more adequate equipment. They are joining an International Brigade which has won recognition and full status as a part of that People's Army. The conditions of the service, the rights and term of service, as well as the responsibilities, have been regularized. The confusions, delays and unnecessary difficulties have been reduced to a minimum. The main task, to hold back and smash the fascist offensive, can now be attacked much more directly and with greater guarantees of victory.

Under these improved conditions, is it possible for us to do our part, together with all honest democrats, to maintain the historic Battalions that were created under such enormous difficulties, until victory is achieved?

I feel that the answer to this question comes as a matter of course. Of course we can and we will.

For us the slogan that rang out in Madrid only thirteen months ago, that was made a reality by the combined forces of world democracy, is a part of our blood and bones, is woven into the very fabric of our lives.

"No pasaran!"

DEMOCRACY'S STAKE IN SPAIN

BY BILL LAWRENCE

*Until Recently Political Commissar of the Military Base
at Albacete, Spain*

RETURNING from Spain, one frequently hears the question, "Well, how does it look in Spain? Are we going to win?" or "How long will the war in Spain last?"

The answer to these questions, comrades, rests on:

1. The absolute unity of all anti-fascist forces of Spain.
2. The help the Spanish people will get from the international working class.
3. The help the Loyalist government receives from the democratic countries, in the struggle for world democracy.

Spain no longer is fighting a civil war. It is a war with the Spanish people on one side and two fascist states on the other. It is a known fact today that the war in Spain was planned, organized and premeditated by the German and Italian fascist governments, in their endeavors to get possession of Spanish steel, ore and mines, as well as control over the Mediterranean.

Let it be said here and now, in refutation not only of the fascists, but also of the so-called friends of the Spanish people who try to utilize some differences among the Spanish people as an indication of their dissatisfaction with the gov-

ernment, that had it not been for the Spanish people themselves and the support they themselves give to their government, the war would have been lost long ago.

Of course, there isn't sufficient homogeneous unity as yet. The representatives of the "fifth column," the Trotskyites, while fishing in troubled waters, use the little influence they have (and it is mighty little) to weaken the process of unification. Unfortunately, some Anarchist leaders as well as former Premier Largo Caballero permitted themselves at times to form an unprincipled alliance with enemies of the People's Republic, thereby obstructing the road to unity.

The lack of unity is the principal cause today for some of the weaknesses in the Spanish situation, for some of the military defeats, for the insufficient clean-up of the rear guard, for the slow purging of the army and the weeding out of treacherous commanders, and for the slow organization of the war industry.

The Communist Party of Spain, starting from the premise that the main issue before the Spanish people is to win the war, realizing that unity is the prerequisite for victory over fascism, guides its work and formulates its policies continuously and consistently along the path of endeavor to unify all anti-fascist forces of Spain.

In its famous manifesto of September 15, the Party Central Committee declared:

"Our Party would commit a grave error if it believed that it alone, with its own forces, could solve the serious problems before the Spanish people. The victory over fascism ought to be a victory of all the Spanish people. All anti-fascist forces ought to collaborate to obtain it. In the unity of all these forces resides precisely the supreme guarantee of our triumph."

Logically continuing this policy, the Party directs the comrades who are in military or political command to:

"... accentuate the relationships of comradeship and

fraternity with commanders of other parties and organizations."

The Spanish Communist Party directs its comrade commanders not to try to prove a point or polemize, but to remember the main issue—Unity and Win the War.

This approach to unity is not limited to the working class organizations but to all anti-fascists who are willing to fight for the freedom and democracy of the Spanish people.

While calling and working for unity, the Party members always give the example of heroic deeds and self-sacrifice. Our Party comrades are the sources of enthusiasm, courage, and determination in the most severe battles in the struggle for the Republic and the People's Front Government. Some of the best comrades of the Spanish Communist Party and the Young Communist League are in the front lines leading the fight. Today more than one hundred thousand Party and Y.C.L. comrades are in the armed forces of Spain, the bulk of whom are in the thick of the fight at various fronts. Many of our very finest Spanish comrades have given their lives and in doing so knew what they were fighting for.

I shall never forget the day, while in a field hospital on the Cordoba Front, during an offensive, while doctors were trying to save the lives of those who required immediate operations, a battalion political commissar was brought in. He was wounded in the head. His face was beyond recognition of human features. Blood was streaming from his eyes, ears and head. He could hardly breathe. The doctor looked at him and turned away. Suddenly, while a group of us was attending to the other wounded lying beside him, we heard "Viva Partida Comunista!" We all turned. We were stunned to realize the voice was coming from the lips of our dying Spanish comrade. We didn't look at each other—we didn't have to—but each of us knew we were all crying.

Because of its policies and heroic deeds, the Communist Party is beloved by the Spanish people. Its influence is grow-

ing hourly. From a party of 20,000 at the outbreak of the insurrection, the Communist Party of Spain has grown until it numbers today half a million fighters in its ranks.

I wish I had the time to elaborate on the work of our Party in Spain. What valuable lessons we can draw and learn in working for the People's Front in America!

Despite all difficulties offered by war conditions, despite continuous attacks on the Party by irresponsible people and counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, yes, in spite of the assassinations of some of our leading comrades in Catalonia, the Communist Party of Spain refuses to be provoked, and continues to follow the road of unity of all anti-fascist forces, because therein lies the key to victory, and victory over fascism is the prime concern of the Communist Party of Spain.

While it is correct to emphasize the unity of the Spanish people as the solution to the Spanish war, one must not underestimate the imperative need for aid from the international working class and democratic governments.

Of course when we speak of international help, the Soviet Union stands out as an example. Here, too, time does not permit my going into details. All I can say is that the aid given by the Soviet Union to Spain is substantial, material and effective. The Spanish people are aware of this and so are the fascist pilots. It is sufficient to mention that even the degenerate, pro-fascist Trotskyites don't dare today to openly attack the Soviet Union for fear of being lynched by the Spanish people. Let no one worry about the headlines in the capitalist press that the Soviet Union will withdraw its aid from Spain. I think we can safely leave it to the Soviet Union to determine its course of action.

Let us rather see what the Americans are doing in Spain and what we can do here to help defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Franco on Spanish soil.

Much has been said and written about the American boys in Spain. I am sure that when the final word is said and

history is written the Americans will occupy a prominent and conspicuous place.

Endless stories can be told of the heroic work of our American comrades in Spain, stories of self-sacrifice and courage unknown in the World War. American comrades have stayed in the trenches for months, endured almost inhuman difficulties of warfare, have seen some of their pals fall by their side, have seen some of their comrades torn by explosive bullets, but have carried on because they knew what they were fighting for.

Courage alone is not sufficient, comrades. An ordinary soldier, too, may be courageous. In the International Brigade the relation of man to man is not that found in the ordinary army. Comrades of one company or battalion may have known each other for years, have worked together in the movement for a long time, have been on picket lines together, and developed a real mutual comradeship. To see a comrade like that fall by your side is not an easy task; but the conviction, the anti-fascist spirit that permeates the International Brigade, the realization of the just cause we are fighting for, make our comrades carry on.

War is not a pretty sight for many reasons. One must undergo all sorts of difficulties: at times difficulties which arise from the very nature of the Spanish struggle and political complications which exist there; difficulties arising from all conditions. Our American comrades have withstood those difficulties and carried on like veterans and true anti-fascists because of their political vision and understanding.

Every American comrade in Spain is a hero in his own way. Names like Oliver Law, Harry Hines, Rudolf Tieger, Steve Nelson, Bob Merriman, Joe Dallet, and Milton Herndon and scores of others will never be forgotten in the history of the struggle for democracy.

Men who were hardly known to us in the States, quiet, modest, timid men you could hardly hear when they talked,

men who never boasted of their ability, knowledge, or experience, have come forward as leaders and staunch fighters. They performed super-human deeds. Only men who know what they are fighting for, men whose enthusiasm and conviction for an ideal are greater than life itself, are capable of deeds exceeding all historic examples of human struggles for liberation.

Take the case of Rudolf Tieger. Living in the trenches for weeks he was an example of courage and loyalty to the cause for which he died. Not sparing himself for a moment, he was always on the spot where he was needed. Disregarding personal danger, he went out of his way to make others feel good. Ignoring his own safety, he accommodated others. He never missed an opportunity to advance his ideas, to imbue people with enthusiasm, in the most difficult moments, making people forget their surroundings when surroundings were rather unpleasant.

One day the order was given to go over the top. Rudolf Tieger was the first to go. He was wounded. Comrades urged him to get back into the trenches. He refused. When he finally did get back, lying there and bleeding, he remembered two of his comrades wounded, lying in no man's land, exposed to the fire of the fascists. Slowly, with blood streaming from his head, disregarding the fire of the enemy, he crawled out on his belly, brought one of the comrades into the trenches. Leaving him there, he came out again, moved to the second comrade, and as he brought him close to the trenches, Tieger was riddled with machine gun bullets.

Or take the case of Harry Hines. He was fatally wounded. As he and a group of others were being brought down on stretchers, an appeal was made to those who were lightly wounded to walk to the first aid station so that the stretchers might be used for those who could not walk. Harry Hines, the seaman, heard the appeal. He raised his head and offered

his stretcher. That very moment he died from the wound he had received.

Many more stories could be related where our men volunteered for jobs knowing that death awaited them, yet gladly volunteered because they realized that the success of the operation would mean a defeat for the fascists. We have indeed reason to be proud of the work of our comrades in Spain. On more than one occasion, military and political authorities referred to the Americans as "that excellent section of the International Brigade." We can point to positive military achievements of the Americans in Spain. The role the Americans played in the February Jarama battles helping to save Madrid, the Brunete offensive in July in which the Americans played a leading part, and the capture of Quinto and Belchite in which the Americans figured prominently, place the Americans in the position of having made definite military contributions in the battle for Spanish democracy.

Our Party, though making terrific sacrifices, is at the same time gaining rich experiences and developing marvelous cadres.

We must pause here to pay tribute to the fine work done by the American Hospital in Spain, and its ambulance crews and field hospitals of various sorts. The high professional standards, the skill and courage and tireless enthusiasm of these American doctors and nurses have saved many and many a life—lives of American boys and lives of boys of the other nations.

The work of Doctor Edward Barsky, Dr. Irving Busch, Dr. Donald Pitts, Dr. Arnold B. Donawa, Chief Nurse Fredericka Martin, and scores of other doctors and nurses too numerous to mention has been complimented in the highest terms by the military and medical authorities of the Spanish government and by international professional medical experts. Every support should be given the Medical

Bureau in sending more and more of such fine medical equipment and such good personnel to operate it.

The role of the International Brigade is not yet over. Today more than ever, new international men are needed to help defeat the fascists. The Spanish war is a bitter struggle and will not be over in the next few months. We must guard ourselves against the tendency of becoming pessimistic about the outcome of the war when the northern front is lost, and becoming over-optimistic when Belchite is taken by the Loyalist forces. Neither our pessimism nor our over-optimism help the Spanish people. And our help is needed badly.

Fascism is determined to conquer Spain. The international working class must be in the vanguard to meet that challenge. Here in America we must revive the Spanish campaign first of all against the Neutrality Act, we must not permit the American people to forget the struggle for world democracy that is being fought out on Spanish soil.

Through the initiative of our Party, we must draw in every anti-fascist to the movement for the amendment of the Neutrality Act. We must demand that America with its democratic traditions does not desert a bleeding nation, struggling for liberty and independence. We must intensify our efforts to draw the Socialist Party into a movement for Spain. The Gus Tylers and Zams are not the Socialist Party of America nor do they represent the sentiments of the Socialist Party members. An indication of that are the few Socialists who today in Spain fight side by side with our comrades against fascism.

Some of our men must come home—others must take their places. We must go back to our units and mass organizations and with the same spirit that prevails among our comrades in Spain, with the same determination and enthusiasm, we, here in America, must become the initiators of a new flow of men into Spain and help deliver the death blow to world fascism.

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